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Book 24

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A Story

OF

Vicksburg and Jackson

"Lest We Forget"

DISPATCHES OF CHARLES A. DANA.

GENERAL JOHN A. McCLERNAND, Commanding 13th Army
Corps.

GENERAL JACOB G. LAUMAN, Commanding 4th
Division, 16th A. C.

REPORT OF COLONEL ISAAC PUGH, 41st Illinois, Commanding First
Brigade; and

REPORT OF COLONEL GEORGE E. BRYANT, 12th Wisconsin,
Commanding 3rd Brigade, 4th Division, 16th Army Corps.

REPORT OF CAPTAIN FREDERICK E. PRIME,
Engineer Officer, Fourth Division, 16th Army Corps.

"ALL ABOUT JACKSON," By SAMUEL M. HOWARD, Co. H, 28th
Illinois, Gettysburg, South Dakota.

Compiled from the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies,
War of the Rebellion,

By Edwin E. Hobart, Co. D, 28th Illinois
2223 West 31st Ave., Denver, Colo.

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PREFACE.

I believe it was S. M. Howard, an old survivor of the 28th Regiment Illinois Veteran Volunteers, who has referred to Vicksburg as "The Gibraltar of America."

Certainly there is no more important subject in connection with the history of the Civil War than Vicksburg, and no other important point about which so little has been written.

General Hurlbut's Sixteenth Army Corps, as a corps, was not present at Vicksburg, but the "Fighting Fourth Division" of that corps was selected to follow up the corps of McClelland's (the Thirteenth), Sherman's (the Fifteenth), and McPherson's (the Seventeenth), all of which had embarked down the river from Memphis in December, 1862, after what was known as "General Grant's Retrograde Movement," the forward movement beginning in November from the line of the M. & C. R. R., down the Mississippi Central Railroad, intending to besiege and capture Vicksburg from the land side, but which failed through circumstances well known to history.

I am not undertaking to write a history of the capture of Vicksburg, but what I shall embrace in the following pages of this pamphlet will give the reader a fair conception of how the capture was accomplished, to whom the credit is due, who, if any one, failed, and particularly to protect the good name of two generals whom I believe to have been unjustly assailed.

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INTRODUCTION.

The student of history, I am positive, has, in analyzing great campaigns, failed to appreciate two classes of staff officers, namely, the Engineer and the Quartermaster, and, while I have not taken into my account of Vicksburg the latter, I beg to be allowed to offer the report of Captain Henry C. Freeman, Acting Engineer officer, Fourth Division, 16th A. C., believing him to have been free from prejudice, standing wholly aloof from the jealousies usually existing, and in an important position—thus making impartial history.

As to Charles A. Dana, he seems to have been of a different mould and incapable of judging impartially, but, appearing to fall among a class, was wholly unjust in his dealings with the opposite class.

I have only to call attention to General John A. Logan's book, published some years after the war, entitled "The Volunteer Soldiers of America," to make plain my reference to classes.

I may be pardoned if I seem to devote some energy looking to the defense of two volunteer generals of the Civil War, without apparent interest other than in a general way seeking for fair play.

Being a native of the great State of Illinois, proud of her standing in defense of the flag, I naturally repel that which may destroy the good name of one of my State's sons, especially when prominence is given his name in the Official Records of the Rebellion. I refer to Major General John A. McClernand.

Again, having for many years after the war resided in the great State of Iowa, in the City of Burlington, the home of my old Commander, whose name is also assailed in the Official Records of the Rebellion, and by the accredited representative of the great War Secretary, and in the same pernicious manner, it is a great recompense to be able, though imperfectly, to place within the pages of this pamphlet some evidence of the worth of my Iowa Volunteer General, Jacob G. Lauman.

Both of these Generals had to their credit, at the time of the Vicksburg campaign, two years of hard fighting, and in every position and condition they had acquitted themselves with great honors.

I now come to Charles A. Dana, and the reader will observe in what capacity he was serving; that he was duly authorized to act for the Secretary of War, but if such reader can discover what his motive was in dealing with my Generals, aside from his apparent intent to do away with volunteer gen-

erals and fight out the war with West Point men, I would be glad to receive their ideas on the subject.

I do not wholly defend General McClelland or relieve him of the faults which caused General Grant to lose confidence in him during the earlier period of the war, nor do I believe he was blameless in his issuance of the offending order which caused his being finally relieved, but Charles A. Dana could not have been taking these things into account, because he had only just arrived in the army.

General Lauman was also, and near the same time (it was in the Dana atmosphere), relieved, but what could Mr. Charles A. Dana have had against him at the time he was finding so much fault with him? At the same time, it is not improbable that the General's trouble was caused by this very baneful influence. We will see.

If we have a case at law, it is our first aim to get it before an unbiased and an honorable judge, so that I turn to our Division Engineer, Captain Freeman, who was certainly in a position to discover faults in General Lauman, if any existed, and still no breath of fault was ever breathed by him or by any other mortal, so far as was known to his soldiers, until C. A. Dana took up the cudgel against him.

Following is the report of Captain Henry C. Freeman, additional Aide-de-Camp, U. S. A., Acting Engineer Officer Fourth Division 16th Army Corps, in his report to Captain C. B. Comstock, Corps of Engineers:

"Vicksburg, Miss., July 6, 1863.

"Captain: I have the honor to report in relation to the siege of Vicksburg, Miss. as follows:

"By order of Captain Frederick E. Prime, dated May 25, I was to report in person to Brigadier General Lauman as early as convenient. I reported next morning. * * *

"The division commanded by General Lauman then occupied the ground north of the Big Bayou between Hall's Ferry road and the Vicksburg and Warrenton road, but leaving a gap uncovered between these and General Hovey's command. * * *

"By order from department headquarters, on May 30, the division moved to the other side of the Big Bayou, crossing the Hall's Ferry road and mostly on the east side.

"June 4: At sundown an advance was made from the Hall's Ferry road, near the buildings to the left and rear of Battery No. 3. The enemy driven back and the crest of the ridge gained on the left at Hall's Ferry road. The entire enemy retired across the valley after a sharp skirmish in which some of our men were wounded. The advanced line was secured by intrenching in rifle pits during this and the following night. * * *

"June 20: At night laid out work for Battery No. 2 for two guns, and Pioneer command constructed it. When ready to commence this work, the enemy attacked our picket guard at the advance point on the Hall's Ferry road. Being in line of fire of musketry, work was suspended for two hours until the firing ceased, the men being obliged to lie down for safety. There was very lively artillery firing at the same time by the enemy along the whole line front of the division, to which our guns responded freely. The enemy seemed to fear attack.

"June 21: * * * At dusk the line in front of Batteries Nos. 6 and 7 was advanced, and took position for opening the third parallel to connect with Hall's Ferry road on the left of second parallel on the right. * * * This line crossed the spur on which the enemy's nearest work was situated, at a distance of 85 yards from salient. At 11:30 P. M. enemy made a sortie

upon the party. Colonel Moore, commanding working party and guards, very gallantly met the charge and drove them back, when the work was resumed after an interruption of two hours, and continued till daylight. This party, including the guard, numbered 170 men, two of the men being wounded.

"June 22: One hundred and twenty-five men at work on trenches right and left of Batteries No. 9, and completed a zigzag sap. Lieutenant Colonel Cam of 14th Illinois, in command of guard and working party in third parallel, about 350 strong. He received instructions to move immediately at dusk to relieve men in the trenches and commence enlarging the work already opened, until further orders.

"Went forward with Lieutenant Colonel Cam to show him where and how to extend the work and to dispose his force for enlarging that already opened. In five minutes from the time I came upon the ground, the enemy fired a volley and made a sortie, rushing down the ridge in the same place and manner as on the previous night. The troops did not hold the line, but retired hastily and in disorder. Lieutenant Colonel Cam and five men were captured, one killed and several wounded. The enemy filled up all our work along the line. About half an hour after this sortie, they made another down the Hall's Ferry road upon our advance guard, but were three times repulsed, when they retired into their works.

"June 24: * * * * 41st Illinois was moved up and encamped in valley in rear of Battery No. 9, and 76th Illinois encamped in the head of ravine on the right of Hall's Ferry road in rear of Battery No. 5. * * * *

"Lieutenant Colonel Lovell of the 33rd Wisconsin Infantry was detailed as field officer of trenches, and took charge of the organization of men for recovering our position. The position was recovered by advancing with a bayonet charge and the enemy routed from his own trenches, in which was captured 12 muskets and some blankets. Several of our men were wounded."

As this writer, in making up the matter for this pamphlet, expects to "pay the freight," he feels that he is not called upon to apologize for that which he places in it.

I would be glad if I could reproduce the whole of Captain Freeman's report for the reasons already assigned. Additional to this, and considering that our famous division was without a Corps Commander present to speak for us, and that General Lauman was soon after deposed, it is necessary to use the reports of our staff.

It may be said that I am giving too much prominence to Charles A. Dana. To this I would say he represented the Secretary of War, and therefore his dispatches were official; possibly, however, not final, and let us weigh them and each for himself determine whether irrevocable.

General Lauman's Fourth Division was chosen to enter the Vicksburg campaign because it was a veteran division; because it was a tried and true division; because its commander had commanded in many trying situations. It was chosen for the same reason, as we shall see in our dealings with Mr. Dana and General McClernand, that the Twenty-eighth Illinois was chosen (or recommended by General McClernand to be chosen) to the War Department as one of the best regiments in the Army of the Tennessee to accompany the expedition (and this recommendation was made some time before the division was selected to accompany the expedition), and it is so very very strange that it (the division and its commander) should become the target of the accredited representative of the great War Secretary.

But Mr. Dana had to do something to earn his money, for, up to this very moment, having only just joined the army, where he could "get the

truth," he was being urged for something tangible; he had until now been stationed at Cairo, but asked to be allowed to join General Grant's headquarters, "where I can get the truth," he had said.

"WAR DEPARTMENT,

Washington, D. C., March 30, 1863.

"C. A. Dana, Esq.,

"Memphis, Tenn., via Cairo:

"Your telegrams have been received, and, although the information has been meager and unsatisfactory, I am conscious that arises from no fault of yours. You will proceed to General Grant's headquarters, or wherever you may be best able to accomplish the purposes designated by this department. You will consider your movements to be governed by your own discretion without any restriction.

"EDWIN M. STANTON,
"Secretary of War."

Two divisions of Shiloh after the siege of Corinth, Sherman's and Hurlbut's, had been sent forward to repair the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, and, after zigzagging across West Tennessee, arrived July 21st, 1862, in Memphis, about as ragged and forlorn a looking lot as could be imagined, and still with all the qualities necessary to fight the battles of their country, and, after being reclothed and replenished, settled down for a season of rest and recuperation.

In September, we of Hurlbut's division retraced our steps and were in due time established at Bolivar, Tenn. From this point we radiated in numerous movements to the South, co-operating with Rosecrans in his movement toward Iuka, and finally in his second battle of Corinth, where this division defeated Price and Van Dorn's forces on the Hatchie, October 5, the day following Rosecrans' two day's battle of Corinth.

In November, we joined General Grant's movement down the Mississippi Central R. R. from the line of the Memphis and Charleston R. R. This movement was the first inception of the campaign against Vicksburg. Returning from this, in what has been known as Grant's Retrograde after the capture of Holly Springs, we, for a season, were disposed along the line of the Memphis and Charleston R. R., and were, according to Mr. Dana, selected to accompany the Vicksburg expedition. He says:

"Memphis, Tenn., March 30, 1863.

"Via Cairo, April 1st.

"Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, Washington:

"General Grant has sent all steamboats that can be had as if he intended to move the bulk of his army from its present position, and has ordered J. G. Lauman's division here to be held for instant movement. ♦♦♦

"C. A. DANA."

This division embarked May 11th, bringing up the rear of Sherman's, McPherson's and McClernand's corps. These generals had gone down in December, attacked the outer works of Vicksburg at Chicasaw Bayou and failed, when Sherman, getting information of the rebel forces at

Arkansas City, fifty miles up the Arkansas River, proposed to General McClelland that they proceed there, which was done, and they succeeded in capturing the works; but it was done without the knowledge or consent of General Grant, and, to the credit of General McClelland, it may be said that he was reluctant to make the move, but it had been successful and was much easier of explanation.

General Grant says, page 440, First Volume of his memoirs:

"Immediately after the reduction of Arkansas Post and capture of the garrison, McClelland returned with his entire force to Napoleon, at the mouth of the Arkansas River. From here I received messages from Sherman and Admiral Porter urging me to come and take command in person, and expressing their distrust of McClelland's ability and fitness for so important and intricate an expedition."

The strange part of it all is, that, after this, and with all that C. A. Dana was saying, General Grant still kept General McClelland in command of the Thirteenth Corps, a corps that did some valient fighting under their general until June 18th, when he was relieved for an infraction of the Articles of War.

There are two objects in reproducing C. A. Dana's dispatches: First, to show the animus against my two generals, and second, that he was really in a position and did give the movement of the troops, and this gives the best condensed history of the great campaign. This being so, I hope that I may be justified in giving them at some length.

The two following communications, which refer to General McClelland, incidentally and otherwise, will also be to the point of my aim to give an idea as to the approach of General Grant's army on Vicksburg:

"DISHROON'S PLANTATION.

"April 29, 1863, 11:30 P. M., Via Memphis, May 5, 9:30 P. M.

"The gunboats and transports came safely through from Hard Times Landing, this evening. The batteries at Grand Gulf were nearly as active as in the morning, and Admiral Porter thinks that in one of the lower batteries a large gun had been mounted during the afternoon. No harm was received in the passage either by the boats or men. **General McClelland's Corps are all ready to embark, but it seems to me doubtful whether they will get on board before daylight, though General Grant has given the most urgent orders.** They will land above Rodney, just below the mouth of Bayou Pierre. The casualties on the fleet today have been 22 killed and 55 wounded.

"Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

"C. A. DANA."

"DISHROON'S PLANTATION,

April 30th (as above).

"The divisions of Carr, Hovey, and Osterhaus were landed safely without opposition at Bruinsburg, Miss., at the mouth of Bayou Pierre, at 11 a. m. today. The divisions of A. J. Smith and Logan are now embarking and will be landed before night. All seems to be going on well, **though, had any other general than McClelland held the advance, the landing would certainly have been effected at daylight.**

"Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War."

"C. A. DANA."

(The black in these dispatches are mine.—E. L. H.)

"Grand Gulf, May 4, 1863, 11:30 A. M.

* * * * * General Grant left here at 1 a. m. this morning. * * *
* * * Of Sherman's Corps, the three divisions of Steel, Tuttle and Blair, should begin to arrive here today, having moved from Young's Point on the 1st

instant. The Sixth Missouri Cavalry, for some weeks employed on the Louisiana side, disembarked here and at Bruinsburg this A. M. and will reach the front by tomorrow morning. The Colonel tells me that he has just come back from a raid down the river on that side to within 20 miles of Natchez; that he has taken 100 prisoners, mainly of Harrison's Cavalry, and brought back large numbers of mules and horses. General Grant proposes to lose no time in pushing his army forward toward the Big Black Bridge, threatening both and striking at either, as is most convenient. * * *

"Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

"C. A. DANA."

Referring to his complaints against General McClelland, Dana received the following:

"WAR DEPARTMENT.

"May 5, 1863.

"C. A. Dana, Smith's Plantation, or General Grant's Headquarters, via Memphis:

"General Grant has full power and absolute to remove any person who, through ignorance, inaction, or any cause, interferes with or delays his operations. He has the full confidence of the Government, is expected to enforce his authority, and will be firmly and heartily supported; but he will be responsible for any failure to exert his powers. You may communicate this to him.

"EDWIN M. STANTON,
"Secretary of War."

"Rocky Springs, Miss., May 8th, 1863.
"Via Memphis, May 14, 3:30 P. M.

"General Grant advanced his headquarters about five miles to this place yesterday. * * * General Sherman's forces have not yet come up, and the old division of Quinby, now under M. M. Crocker, remains to guard Hankinson's Ferry. As soon as it is relieved by Sherman's advance, McPherson will move his Corps in the direction of Raymond. No doubt, this movement will commence today. The advance of Osterhaus is at Hall's Ferry, and he reports that the enemy have batteries posted on the other side of the Big Black River. From the Sixth Missouri Cavalry (sent day before yesterday back to Port Gibson), we heard last night that the enemy were pressing them etc. * * *

"Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War."

"C. A. DANA."

The following are simply extracts with dates showing arrivals of different troops:

"May 16: McPherson reached Rocky Springs yesterday with his cavalry. He advanced five miles beyond Utica, meeting a reconnaissance of the enemy which retired.—McClelland moved on the main road to Edwards Station. Sherman reached this place with Tuttle's division, and Hankinson's Ferry with Stee's. Unless the enemy attacks, no battle will be fought for two or three days. Leaving therefore, Blair's and McArthur's brigades to come up, General Grant moves his headquarters to Auburn. * * * Grand Gulf is to be garrisoned by one brigade of McArthur's until Lauman arrives there, when one of the latter's brigades will form a permanent garrison."

BATTLE OF CHAMPION HILL.

"May 16.—General Grant has won a great victory over the rebels at Baker's Creek [Champion Hill]. Pemberton had a formidable position on the crest of a wooded hill over which the road passes longitudinally. He had above 25,000 men. The battle began at 11 a. m. and was concluded at 4 p. m. Its brunt was borne by Hovey's division of McClelland's Corps, and by Logan's and Crocker's divisions of McPherson's Corps. Hovey attacked the hill and held a great part of it till 2 p. m., when, having lost 1,600 men, he was succeeded by Boomer's and Holmes' brigades and Crocker's division, by which the conflict was ended in that part of the field. Boomer lost 500 men. Logan operated on the right and cut off the enemy's direct retreat, so that he was compelled to escape by his right flank through the woods. Logan had 400 killed and wounded. We took about 2,000 prisoners. On the 17th, we advanced to the Big Black, fought Pemberton again at his bridge head, and captured 3,000 more prisoners. He fought in rifle pits, protected by a difficult bayou full of abatis. Lawler's brigade of McClelland's Corps charged the rifle pits magnificently and took more prisoners than their own numbers.

Pemberton burned the bridge and returned to Vicksburg with only three canon out of the sixty that he had taken out."

"Building four bridges over the Big Black, General Grant arrived before the town on the evening of the 18th, and now holds it closely invested. He had opened a line of supplies via Chicaw Bayou, having cut the town off from Hayne's bluff, which is abandoned by the enemy, and which General Grant will occupy. There was sharp fighting through the day yesterday. Steel won, and holds the upper bluffs, and the enemy's upper water batteries get water from the Mississippi. Sherman's Corps yesterday lost 500 killed and wounded. McPherson, who holds the center, lost little, as did McClernand, who holds the left."

"The gunboats kept the enemy alert during the night, and probably the town will be carried today. There are from 15,000 to 20,000 men in it. Pemberton fights with the greater obstinacy because his people believe he has sold thier cause. Joe Johnston went into the town, but we have not heard of him since." [Sic.]

"Behind Vicksburg, May 23.—The town was assaulted yesterday. The order required the columns to move by every road at 10 a. m., precisely, but they did not all get started at the same hour. The attempt failed, but without heavy loss. At 2 p. m. McClernand reported that he was in possession of two forts of the rebel line; was hard pressed, and in need of re-inforcements. Not doubting that he had succeeded in taking and holding the works he pretended to hold, General Grant ordered J. G. Lauman's division [Sic.] of McPherson's Corps, to his support, and at the same time McPherson and Sherman both made attacks. **McClernand's report was false, as he held not a single fort, and the result was disastrous.** Lauman's division was pushed by McClernand to the front and suffered heavily. Colonel G. B. Boomer, Twenty-sixth Missouri, among the killed." [Reference to Lauman's division here is entirely erroneous.]

"Ransom's Brigade, on McPherson's right, lost 25 per cent. of its strength, including Colonel G. Nevins and Colonel T. W. Humphrey killed, and Stevenson's Brigade lost some 300, including Colonel J. J. Dollins, killed. Sherman told me he had lost about 500, including Major D. T. Kirby, Eighth Missouri, who led a forlorn hope of 150 men—none of whom came back. The loss of the day in killed and wounded will probably not fall short of 1,500 **through McClernand's mistake, which would otherwise have been inconside-
rable.**"

"Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War."

"C. A. DANA."

Major Kirby's Eighth Missouri was another Thermopylae, but I must close Mr. C. A. Dana's reports or there will be none of us left to tell the story. Before I do this, however, I will insert one gem, and while it is not complimentary to my old Commander, yet it is the truth of history that I am aiming at, in a weak way, and I would do violence to my conscience if I omitted it, and, while I defend General Lauman against such an aspersion, and point to Belmont, Shiloh, and especially to General Lauman's good work in extricating his soldiers from what seemed inevitable capture by Van Dorn, at the time of the battle of Iuka, in view of his defeat just 17 days after C. A. Dana wrote these words, I may be leading a forlorn hope. The extract follows:

"Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War: "Rear of Vicksburg, Miss., June 25.

"* * * * * Next to Hovey, is Lauman, who has repeatedly lost pickets, and night before last had a Lieutenant Colonel and nine men captured by the enemy. Lauman is a brave man, but an ox is just as fit to command as he.

"C. A. DANA."

I do not profess to know so much about McClernand as I do about General Lauman, but if he (Dana) is as erratic in regard to the former as to the latter, then we may safely impeach his testimony with regard to both.

I have shown this capture of Colonel Cam of the 14th Illinois of our Second Brigade as reported by Captain Henry C. Freeman, our Engineer

Officer, who does not in the whole course of his report reflect upon the management of General Lauman, and it remained for Mr. C. A. Dana, up to this time, to find fault with him, so far as I have been able to discover in the Records of the Rebellion. On the other hand, he had been to this very hour a brave and efficient commander of, first, his regiment, the Seventh Iowa at Belmont; then of Hurlbut's Third Brigade at Shiloh, and of Hurlbut's First Brigade from this time on till he succeeded Hurlbut in command of the division after the battle of Hatchie or Davis' Bridge, October 5, following the two day's battle at Corinth, October 3 and 4, 1862.

If Mr. Dana is as far from just and right in General Lauman's case as I believe him to be, and as I am in a position to know him to be, it is possible, and even probable, that he has been unjust and wrong towards General McClelland, and I will attempt to show something of General McClelland's side of the matter.

We now come to another phase of General McClelland's trouble, and I will ask you to bear in mind that the fault found by Dana preceeding May 22d, had not so far caused General Grant to act, and it is doubtful if any harm would have come to him if he had refrained from issuing an order which will be referred to in a moment, and after I have quoted from General Grant's "Memoirs" to show that, while not pleased himself with McClelland's conduct on the 22d, he presumably had no intention to relieve him. On page 531. Grant says:

"The attack was ordered to commence on all parts of the line at 10 o'clock a. m., on the 22d, with a furious cannonade from every battery in position. All corps commanders set their watches by mine, so that all might open the engagement at the same minute. The attack was gallant, and portions of each corps succeeding in getting up to the very parapets of the enemy and in planting their battle flags upon them; but at no place were we able to enter. General McClelland reported that he had gained the enemy's entrenchments at several points, and wanted re-inforcements. I occupied a position from which I believed I could see as well as he what took place in his front, and I did not see the success he reported. But his request for re-inforcements being repeated, I could not ignore it, and sent him Quinby's Division of the 17th Corps. Sherman and McPherson were both ordered to renew their assaults as a diversion in favor of McClelland. The last attack only served to increase our casualties without giving any benefits whatever. As soon as it was dark our troops that had reached the enemy's lines and had been obliged to remain there for security all day, were withdrawn; and thus ended the last assault upon Vicksburg."

The Official Records give but one dispatch from McClelland to Grant, as follows:

"HEADQUARTERS THIRTEENTH ARMY CORPS.

"In Battlefield near Vicksburg, Miss., May 22, 1863.

"Major-General Grant:

"General—We are hotly engaged with the enemy. We have part possession of two forts, and the Stars and Stripes are waving over them. A vigorous push ought to be made all along the line.

"**JOHN A. McCLELLAND.**
"Major General Commanding."

From General Grant's "Memoirs," page 546, we get a clue to General McClelland's real trouble, and, as I have intimated, unless the letters referred to as coming from Generals Sherman and McPherson were instigated by C. A. Dana, the latter's fault-finding had done him no harm:

"On the 17th [of June] I received a letter from General Sherman and one on the 18th from General McPherson, saying that their respective commands had complained to them of the fulsom congratulatory order published by General McClelland to the Thirteenth Corps, which did great injustice to the other troops engaged in the campaign. The order had been sent North and published, and now papers containing it had reached our camps. The order had not been heard of by me, and certainly not by troops outside of General McClelland's command until brought in this way. I at once wrote to McClelland, directing him to send me a copy of this order. He did so, and I at once relieved him from the command of the Thirteenth Army Corps, and ordered him back to Springfield, Ill. The publication of his order in the press was a violation of War Department's orders and also of mine."

General McClelland from his home in Springfield, now got busy, not defending his right to issue the order for which he was relieved, but as if it was on account of the failure of the 22d, and it is to be presumed that he felt that he was being punished for the sins of others. He could not have known at that time, and doubtless never knew, of the faults complained of by C. A. Dana. Anyway, let us, for the sake of fair play, assume that the affair of the 22d did have something to do with the case, and see what kind of defense he makes, and if it will brighten the memory of the General in the heart of one friend, I am amply repaid for the showing:

"Knoxville, Iowa, Sept. 8, 1863.

"Major General McClelland, Springfield, Ill.:

"In reply to your interrogatories, presented by Mr. Jones, I state the following facts, which occurred under my observation, connected with the assault of the Thirteenth Army Corps upon the enemy's works at Vicksburg on May 22d last:

"I was in command of the 22d Iowa, which regiment was in the Second Brigade, Fourteenth Division of said corps. On the evening of May 21st, I was served with a copy of the circular, or order, directing the assault to be made the next day at 10 a. m.

"At a little before 10 o'clock, by my time, I received the order from General Lawler's assistant adjutant general to advance, and I did so immediately, supported by the Twenty-first Iowa. I advanced as I intended, directly against the fort, but passing over the crest of the hill, the enemy's fire was so terrific that the left wing of my regiment was driven into the hollow on the left of the fort, but the right wing advanced steadily toward the fort, and within ten minutes from the time we started, **my men entered it, and held it, to my knowledge, for over an hour.** The fort was small, and the open space inside very limited, and but few men could find room in it. When the enemy were driven from the fort, they also retired from the rifle pits on the right (our right), between that and the railroad. The Eleventh Wisconsin had also advanced against the second fort, some three hundred yards from the first one, and I saw the enemy leave that one. They also retired from the pits between the two forts, and went down the hill into the ravine or hollow beyond toward the city, leaving only a few struggling sharpshooters behind. I stood with Lieutenant Colonel Dunlap, of the Twenty-first Iowa, on the crest, and most exposed point near the fort. We saw them leave and conversed about it. I sent word back to General Carr to send me a brigade and I would hold the works. I regarded the thing as easily done. I do not know that the word reached the General. I regarded the door of Vicksburg as opened, and so said to Colonel Dunlap, and we were congratulating ourselves upon our success, when I was shot in the arm by a sharpshooter from the woods beyond their rifle pits, and he was killed. I ordered the color-bearer of the Seventy-seventh Illinois to bring up his colors, as mine were down in the hollow on the left, and my own men planted them on top of the fort. Soon after this my own colors were brought up and

placed beside them. **They remained there, to my certain knowledge, till 6 o'clock in the evening.**

"Had we been re-inforced at any time before 12 M., by fresh brigades, I have no doubt that the whole army could have gone into Vicksburg."

* * * *

"W. M. STONE,

"Late Colonel Twenty-second Iowa."

Further than this, I will say that there is plenty of evidence supporting the foregoing from Colonel Stone, and by the following participants: Harvey Graham, Lt.-Col. 22d Iowa; J. B. Atherton, Major 22d Iowa; A. H. Rugg, Color Sergt. Co. A, 77th Ill.; H. C. Wentworth, Lt. Col. and Aide-de-Camp; F. H. Mason, Capt. and Aide-de-Camp; A. A. Blount, Capt. 17th Ohio Art., etc.

So, regardless of any favorable or unfavorable feelings that I may have expressed, readers of this pamphlet can take their choice, and, if it springs a controversy, I promise to remain neutral, but would not shirk any responsibility, and will assist in bringing out any further evidence which might not be available to all of my comrades; yet such is easily obtainable, and amounts to a court of inquiry, if diligently pursued. But, whether the shoe pinches C. A. Dana or General McClelland, there are truly two sides here shown, and as has recently been said by our President, in words which we may not quote literally, but which convey the meaning: "Any man who is good enough [to offer] to shed his blood for this government, is good enough to have a square deal. More than this, no man can expect; and less than this, no man should have."

Whatever may be said of the failures, follies and fulsome orders of Major General John A. McClelland, it must be acknowledged that he knew a good thing when he saw it. Soon after the close of the Corinth campaign, and when all eyes were turned on Vicksburg, he conceived a wonderful plan to cull the Army of the Tennessee of its best regiments, to form an invincible army for the reduction of Vicksburg—presumably to be under the command of the invincible Major General John A. McClelland. Witness the following:

Washington, D. C., Oct. 10th, 1862.

"Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War:

"Sir—As it is possible, perhaps probable, that debarkation of the Mississippi expedition will be contested by the enemy, it is considered important that it should be formed in part of experienced troops. If the expedition should be limited at first to 20,000 men, one-half, or at least one-fourth of that number should be of such troops, and I think they might be taken from the Army of the Tennessee (with which I have been identified), without material detriment to the public service, particularly if their place should be filled by new troops, and since the late defeat and dispersion of the enemy in West Tennessee.

"Taking a few regiments from that army, even if they were only skeleton ones, and incorporating them with the expedition, would be to impart a martial spirit and tone which would be of great value to it; hence, I recommend that the Eighth, Eleventh, Fourteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, Twentieth, Twenty-eighth and Thirtieth Illinois, and Seventy-eighth Ohio, be assigned to the expedition. Most, if not all, of these regiments are sadly reduced, and probably would not average 400 effective men each, giving an aggregate of only 5,200 men."

After giving some additional reasons for this extraordinary suggestion of the Secretary of War—mainly that the regimental commanders would make good brigadiers—he continues:

"The forces designed for the Mississippi expedition might be concentrated either at Cairo or Memphis, there being comparatively little difference in their eligibility as places of rendezvous and depots of military supplies.

"Your obedient servant,

"JOHN A. McCLEARNAND, Major General."

I have embodied this in my pamphlet because it is very complimentary to my old regiment, being, with the exception of the Fourteenth Illinois, the only regiment from the "Fighting Fourth Division" chosen.

General McClelland possessed the confidence of the Honorable Secretary of War, and his suggestions in many respects were listened to, and even the President shared in this confidence, but as to the regiments which he suggested should form a nucleus to his expedition, such request was not granted, though I am unable to say how this was received by the Government, and, so far as the two preferred regiments from the Fourth Division were concerned, they remained in their old organizations, but General McClelland was sent to the states of Illinois, Indiana and Iowa, to organize troops for that expedition. Witness the following:

"ORDERED: That Major General McClelland be, and he is, directed to proceed to the States of Illinois, Indiana, and Iowa, to organize the troops remaining in those States, and to be raised by volunteering or draft, and forward them with all dispatch to Memphis, Cairo, or such other points as may hereafter be designated by the General-in-Chief, to the end that when a sufficient force, not required by the operations of General Grant's command shall be raised, an expedition may be organized under General McClelland's command against Vicksburg, and to clear the Mississippi River and open navigation to New Orleans.

"ORDER OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR."

[Indorsed by the President:]

"October 20th, 1862.

"This order, though marked confidential, may be shown by General McClelland to governors, and even others, when, in his discretion, he believes so doing will be indispensable to the progress of the expedition.

"I add that I feel deep interest in the success of the expedition and desire it to be pushed forward with all possible dispatch consistent with the other parts of the military service.

"A. LINCOLN."

SURRENDER OF VICKSBURG.

Vicksburg surrendered on the ever-glorious Fourth day of July—on July 5th Hurlbut's division, now Brigadier General Jacob G. Lauman's, started into the city, only reaching the inside works just surrendered, when we were ordered to countermarch, and in the awful heat and dust of that sultry soul-depressing semi-tropical sun, with malarial fever burning my

body, I heard the order; rumor said we were going after Joe Johnston. We now have orders to march on Jackson. Dust was sifting through the seams of my well-worn brogans and burning my feet; the situation and my condition could not be worse. Reaching Black River and ascending the slope beyond, I fell by the wayside; I laid there until finally realizing that if making no effort to save myself I would surely die. Half bewildered I returned to the old camp on the Hall's Ferry road, and joined the camp followers and other convalescents left behind.

In just a week of this torture, we learned of the awful fate of the regiment with others at Jackson, we believed we would never again see our brave comrades. It was a dark period of my life, but the worst was to come. The decimated regiment did return, and with it my rescued Captain, sorely wounded, with but a few not sick or wounded, with none in worse condition than myself. Our brave First Lieutenant, John B. Pearson, was in command of my company. How he had escaped I do not know, but he immediately ordered me to the regimental hospital, from which I was almost immediately transferred to the General Field Hospital No. 4, where I suffered the tortures only known to victims of that insidious southern fever. But of myself I had not intended to write; suffice to say it was many weeks, and not until I had reached Natchez, where the remnant of my regiment had settled for the while, and after another long siege again in regimental and Marine Hospitals there, that I resumed my duties. But the following communication between myself, the National Tribune, and S. M. Howard of Co. H, tells the story of Jackson. This was published in the National Tribune of February 1st, 1906:

Editor National Tribune:

You have had comparatively smooth sailing in your very useful and very interesting writings. This is so because there has been little to find fault with, and that little so overshadowed by the real worth of the articles that no reasonable comrade would be so small as to jump up and raise a fuss.

But you have seen fit to print C. A. Dana's heretofore unpublished statements about so many worthy and meritorious officers that I ask you to publish this in defence of my long time commander. I am the especial champion now of Brigadier General Jacob G. Lauman. No shadow had ever been cast upon the General before C. A. Dana arrived at Vicksburg and fell under the influence of E. O. C. Ord, and was filled up with the deepest prejudice against that most worthy and gallant officer who had been in at the opening of the Mississippi at Belmont and all down the line at Belmont, at Donelson, at Shiloh, and in an expedition from Bolivar to attract the attention of the rebels while Rosecrans marched to the attack on Iuka, and here, if he were "no more fit to command than an ox," as Dana says in one letter you overlook, his brigade would have been captured; but as it was he by most excellent strategy extricated us from the rebel army under Van Dorn near La Grange.

Coming now to the battle of Davis' Bridge, on the Hatchie, we find the animus of General Ord in this, that being drunk, and, like a martinet, he cursed a soldier of Lauman's Brigade, and was by this Union soldier wounded, and there and then decided to play even with General Lauman and his soldiers, and biding his time, he waited until he got the ear of C. A. Dana, and what you have not published of the balance is shown in letter I have received from Comrade S. M. Howard, which I send you herewith.

One other point, if you will bear with me, is that you do not give the 28th Illinois enough credit in the affair at Jackson, and also you mention the 51st Illinois, which was not there, but instead it was the 53d Illinois, and as the error is repeated I call attention to it.

Pardon me for speaking out in meeting in behalf of our old commander whom C. A. Dana, at the instance of General E. O. C. Ord, would rob of his



GENERAL J. G. LAUMAN.

laurels. Lauman's Division had only been in the investment line two or three days when these attacks began, and the pretext of it was ostensibly the capture of Lieutenant Colonel Cam and a few men of the 14th Illinois, in a sortie of the rebels on our rifle pits. These were placed in their position by the Engineer Officer, and General Lauman had nothing to do with their capture.—Ed L. Hobart, Co. D, 28th Illinois, Denver, Colo.

Gettysburg, S. D., January 15, 1906.

"ALL ABOUT JACKSON, JULY 12, 1863."

"Ed L. Hobart, Denver, Colo.:

"Dear Hobart—In reply to your inquiry about the charge at Jackson, July 12, 1863, I will state: During the siege of Vicksburg General Joseph E. Johnston, of the Confederate army, had taken possession of Jackson, the capital of Mississippi, and had fortified the city with a strong line of earthworks, extending from Pearl River on the southeast around the city to the river again on the northeast.

"In the campaign against Jackson, which began on the next day after the surrender of Vicksburg, the Fourth Division was commanded by General Jacob Lauman, and belonged properly to the Sixteenth Corps, but unfortunately was attached to the Thirteenth Corps, commanded by General E. O. C. Ord, a Regular Army officer, of whom I shall have something to say later on.

"In that campaign the Thirteenth Corps comprised 14,400 infantry, 440 cavalry and 63 pieces of artillery.

"The Ninth and Fifteenth Corps and one division of the Sixteenth Corps also took part in that campaign; but as I am dealing only with our Fourth Division I shall have little to say about the other divisions.

"It is proper to recall the fact at the outset that General Stephen A. Hurlbut was the first commander of our division, and that it was he who led us on and on and on at Shiloh, when and where General Lauman commanded the Third Brigade; and that it was General Hurlbut who led us out of the chaos at the battle on the Hatchie, brought about by General Ord, and then and there turned tumult into glorious victory, when and where General Lauman commanded the First Brigade amidst that cyclone of carnage and death.

"The Fourth Division left the trenches before Vicksburg July 5, the very next day after the surrender of that Gibraltar of the Mississippi, and arrived in the immediate vicinity of the fortifications at Jackson on the 10th.

"The division then consisted of three brigades, commanded respectively by Colonels Pugh, Hall and Bryant. The Second Brigade was not engaged in the charge, and may be omitted from further mention just now.

"The First Brigade was composed of the 41st and 53d Illinois, the 3d Iowa and the 33d Wisconsin.

"The Third Brigade consisted of the 28th and 32d Illinois, the 53d Indiana and the 12th Wisconsin.

"On the night of the 11th most of the division was in camp on the west side of the railroad running south from Jackson, and distant about one mile from the fortifications, and about 9 o'clock on the morning of the 12th the First Brigade (with exception of the 33d Wisconsin and including the 28th

(Illinois) was ordered over to the east side of the railroad, with our left connecting with General Hovey's Division.

"From this point Colonel Pugh advanced his skirmish line, which soon engaged the enemy. The 28th, 41st and 53d Illinois and the glorious 3d Iowa were then ordered to advance by Colonel Pugh. We moved through dense underbrush across a small creek, and thence onward until we came to a cornfield. Here we halted and dressed up the line, although under sharp fire. Colonel Pugh says he did not like the looks of the situation here, and declined to proceed further without specific orders therefor. Hence he sent for General Lauman, the division commander, who thereupon came upon the ground in person and ordered Colonel Pugh to charge upon the main earthworks of the enemy, less than half a mile distant.

"With a deep yell, learned at Shiloh, which still rings in my ears, these four veteran regiments started on the double-quick for the main earthworks of the enemy, for destruction and death; for we were charging into a terrible angle of the main works, completely enfiladed from our right flank, and supported by nobody. But on and on the boys went, while the rebel cannon and rifles belched forth shell, grape and canister by the million, until the advance arrived at the breastworks, some even leaping into the ditch. The color-bearer of the 28th Illinois fell, mortally wounded, our flag falling to the ground, which was then and there grabbed by Private John Hollingsworth of Co. H, and by him borne aloft and carried forward clear over the breastworks, where he was surrounded, taken prisoner, and our flag lost. But it is glory enough for me to say that the flag of the 28th Illinois was carried clear over the earthworks in defiance of 25,000 men. But, unsupported, human flesh and blood, even though braced with the nerves of steel, could go no farther. The remnant of the assaulting column, powerless to accomplish more, withdrew from the awful field of carnage as best they could; but bear in mind forever that we left behind us upon that death-strewn field of slaughter more than 57 per cent of all who entered the charge.

"Search well the annals of war throughout all time, and few parallels of the horrors of this charge can be found. In the percentage of loss the mighty charge of Pickett at Gettysburg was nowhere.

"But why was Lauman unsupported? Why this fearful blunder? These are the points which all survivors of that fearful struggle wish to know all about.

"In as brief a way as possible I will endeavor to tell you of the motive which prompted about this great disaster.

"Soon after that slaughter was over and the survivors had fallen back and returned in perfect order, General Lauman was relieved from command of his division, with which he had served most gloriously even from Belmont to this very hour, and sent back to Vicksburg in disgrace by order of General E. O. C. Ord, then commanding the Thirteenth Corps. In his report to General Sherman relative to this, General Ord says:

"General Lauman had received special instructions to take position with his division on the extreme right, with his line about 1,500 yards from the enemy's works, his skirmishers as near as they could get, and under cover, his supports to skirmish about 300 yards in the rear of them. * * * The next morning, without orders, and directly in violation of the instructions as to the position he was to take, he advanced upon the enemy's works with Pugh's Brigade and one regiment, about 1,000 men in all, a battery and one regiment following. The point of attack was not selected by any reconnaissance or previous examination. * * * I knew nothing of this attack and disaster until it was reported to me about one hour afterward. Captain McCoy stated that General Lauman told him to say to General Ord 'I am cut all to pieces.' I visited his division immediately. He reported his total loss about 100. I found the men scattered, except that part which had not been with him, and when I called on General Lauman to take immediate steps to put the remnant of his command under temporary cover, to call the rolls and gather the stragglers, I found he did not know how to do it; and for fear that the enemy might follow up their advantage, and the right flank being too important to trust in such hands, I relieved him and placed his division under the command of Brigadier General A. P. Hovey."

"As an absolute matter of fact, the above quoted report of General Ord is untrue in nearly every respect, and did the greatest injustice possible to General Lauman. Just what General Ord means by the phrase 'his (Lauman's) supports to skirmish about 300 yards in the rear of them,' is quite beyond the comprehension of any sober man.

"Then, General Ord says: 'The next morning, without orders, and directly in violation of the instructions as to the position he was to take, he advanced upon the enemy's works, etc.' Let us see about that for one moment. At 1 p. m. of the previous day General Ord gave the following instruction or order to General Lauman, to-wit:

"Headquarters Thirteenth Corps, July 11, 1863, 1:30 p. m.

"General Lauman:

"General—As the enemy may have some force on the railroad, should they show an infantry line in force (which is hardly probable), make a reconnaissance, and if it is necessary to form a line and attack to drive the force in front, do so, so as to keep your connection with General Hovey, who is

the connection with the main corps,' etc.—(War Records, Series I, Vol. 24, p. 503.)

"Here is the positive, written order from Ord to Lauman to form a line and attack and drive the enemy from his front. And yet, notwithstanding this, Ord reports to General Sherman, as above quoted, that General Lauman made the attack 'without orders, and directly in violation of instructions.' This shows conclusively that General Ord either did not know what he was reporting to General Sherman, or that he was willfully slandering a meritorious officer in order to shield himself.

"Nor is this all. There are several soldiers still living who were present with General Lauman and who will testify under oath that when that order was first given General Lauman refused to make the charge; and that thereupon Ord told Lauman that, if he would not make the charge, he (Ord) would get someone else to do it; and that it was after this threat that General Lauman finally ordered the charge. I met a comrade at Denver who assured me he would make oath to the truth of this.

"But there is one weighty reason for this slur thus cast upon General Lauman, which all the records of the War Department do not in any way disclose. At the bottom of all lies the deep-seated jealousy which then everywhere prevailed between the Regular and Volunteer officers. This jealousy was almost constantly manifesting itself, and was not by any means confined to Generals Ord and Lauman. All old soldiers and all readers of history are aware that, upon the death of General McPherson, before Atlanta, General John A. Logan was clearly entitled to the command of the Army of the Tennessee. All know that Logan would have made a splendid commander for that army. All know he was competent and qualified for that command. Why did he not get it? Throughout all the annals of the war one reason only can be found: Logan was a Volunteer officer, and those having the naming of the commander of that army were West Pointers. And this tells it all.

"General Ord was a graduate at West Point. General Lauman was a Volunteer officer who, on merit alone, had forged his way forward to the command of a division.

"The West Point officers had to be taken care of, whether they were good for anything or not. General Ord had been prowling around in the West for a long time without a command suitable to his dignity. General Grant had humiliated General Stephen A. Hurlbut, the original commander of the Fourth Division, by virtually temporarily relieving Hurlbut from command and assigning this same General Ord thereto at the time of the battle at Davis' Bridge on the Hatchie River. And after General Ord had succeeded in getting us all into that death-trap, it was Hurlbut, restored to command, who turned disaster into glorious victory.

"On this occasion, just as soon as it was known by the boys in blue that General Ord had been sent to take command, and had assumed command, they resented this insult to their old commander in every way they could, and gave many groans whenever General Ord came near them. General Lauman was in command of one of the brigades at that time; and it is to be presumed that General Ord then and there made up his mind in firm resolve to hold Hurlbut and Lauman both responsible for such insult to his dignity.

"The result was that General Hurlbut was shelved by being assigned to command of the post at Memphis, thus getting him out of the way, and now General Lauman was shelved by being relieved of the command of his division and sent back to Vicksburg in disgrace, and all because of West Point influence and West Point dignity, and to the great damage of highly meritorious volunteer officers."—S. M. Howard.

The regiments suffering these losses, in reality the old First Brigade of Shiloh and Hatchie, and still the First Brigade with the exceptions of my old regiment which had been transferred to the Third Brigade, and which for this occasion (certainly proving that desperate work was expected of them), were again associated in this forlorn hope.

Comrade S. D. Thompson, in his "Recollections with the Third Iowa," a book I have recently been allowed to read by Comrade L. D. Powers (who served in Co. I of the Third Iowa, and who participated in that ill-fated charge), says:

"Thus it seems that fate had decreed that this gallant regiment (the Twenty-eighth Illinois), which suffered side by side with us in the disastrous bend of the Hatchie River, should, under the same commander, suffer such butchery now." [General Lauman is meant.]

I will here with reference to Jackson and his fatal charge, quote from "Inside of Rebeldom." This by J. P. Cannon of the 27th Alabama, a regiment that occupied Fort Heiman, Ky., at the time of our approach in February, 1862, during the campaign against Fort Henry and Fort Donelson, as follows:

"July 12.—We slept in the ditches last night. The shells passing over, did not disturb us, except occasionally when one burst too close. The enemy charged Stovall's Brigade and were handsomely repulsed, with the loss of three stands of colors, 250 prisoners, and 600 or 800 killed or wounded. **The colors belonged to the Twenty-eighth, Forty-first and the Fifty-third Illinois, and are beautiful silk flags, two of them blue battle flags; the other the Stars and Stripes, besmeared with the blood of its late bearer.**"

It may be interesting to know what orders General Lauman had from his superior officer that caused him to make this alleged fatal mistake. It follows:

"HEADQUARTERS THIRTEENTH ARMY CORPS.

Jackson, Miss., July 11, 1863, 1:30 P. M.

"General Lauman, Commanding Division:

"As the enemy may have some force on the railroad, should they show an infantry force (which is hardly probable), make a reconnaissance, and, if it is necessary to form a line and attack to drive the force in front, do so, so as to keep your connection with the main corps.

"Have a small reserve and keep it to your right and rear, as the right is the exposed flank. Do not put your batteries beyond infantry support, and report your progress from time to time to me.

"As soon as you reach the railroad, send a strong party to the river to examine and report. Yours respectfully,

"E. O. C. ORD.

I have a letter from some comrade of the old regiment who was wounded in the charge, and which states that while lying in the hospital General Lauman came to the hospital protesting his innocence of any "blunder." The letter states that he was crying and nearly heartbroken, and claiming that he was justified in leading the charge *just as he led it, and at the time he led it*. General Lauman lies buried in the cemetery at Burlington, Iowa, and I assisted in decorating his grave for the fourteen years of my residence there after the war. At the encampment in Burlington, in 1889, I had the honor to start a movement looking to the care of General Lauman's grave. I felt then, as I have always felt, that General Lauman was the scapegoat of some higher in authority at Jackson, and although he was relieved of his command, and the command merged with another division, and General Lauman was never heard of after, officially, it is my belief that he simply carried out his orders, verbal and otherwise, as he understood them. In the report of General Sherman to General Grant, it is hardly necessary to read between the lines to discover that there was something being covered up. The report follows:

"HEADQUARTERS FIFTEENTH ARMY CORPS.

"Camp Before Jackson, July 12.

"General Lauman, in taking position today, got his lines uncovered by skirmish line too close to the enemy's lines and suffered considerably; loss not yet ascertained. * * * * The ground to the right is so wooded that General Ord has been unable to ascertain Lauman's loss. * * * *

"W. T. SHERMAN,

"Major General Commanding."

Here follows the very last reference that was ever made to the subject, in the "Records of the Rebellion," or to General Lauman:

"HEADQUARTERS THIRTEENTH ARMY CORPS.

"Near Jackson, Miss., July 12, 1863.

"SPECIAL ORDER NO. 19.

I. Brigadier General J. G. Lauman is hereby relieved from command of the Fourth Division, 16th Army Corps (temporarily assigned to the Thirteenth Army Corps).

"II. He will turn over his command to Brigadier General A. P. Hovey, who will place it in position and ascertain its condition and casualties, and report to Headquarters Thirteenth A. C.

"III. Brigadier General Lauman, on being relieved from his command, will proceed to Vicksburg, or to General Grant's headquarters and report.

"By command of Major General E. O. C. Ord.

"WALTER B. SCATES,

"Lieutenant Col. and A. A. Gen'l, 13th Army Corps."

"HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF TENNESSEE.

"Vicksburg, Miss., Aug. 7th, 1863.

"The Thirteenth Army Corps is ordered to Port Hudson.

"V. The Fourth Division, late Brigadier General J. G. Lauman, now Brigadier General M. M. Crocker, commanding, is taken from the Thirteenth Army Corps and assigned to the Seventeenth Army Corps, and will report accordingly.

"VIII. Major General McPherson, commanding Seventeenth Army Corps, will send the Fourth Division, Brigadier General M. M. Crocker commanding, to Natchez as fast as transportation can be provided.

"By command of General Grant,

JOHN A. RAWLINS,

"Lieut. Colonel and Assistant Adjutant General."

The following reports of officers will give a better understanding of the disastrous charge and make a fitting supplement to my meager account. They will also account for the presence of the Twenty-eighth Illinois, and clear up several points which have for all the years since been but a tradition:

Report of Colonel Isaac C. Pugh, Forty-first Illinois Infantry, commanding Third Brigade:

"HEADQUARTERS THIRD BRIGADE, 12TH DIVISION.

"Near Jackson, Miss., July 20, 1863.

"Sir—In compliance with orders from General Hovey, I herewith send you a statement of the operations of the First Brigade, Fourth Division, 16th Army Corps, since the 5th day of July, 1863:

"I left Vicksburg on the morning of the 5th of July, 1863, and marched to Clear Creek, and encamped, from which place we marched the 7th to Bolton; 8th, marched about 3 miles, and encamped until the morning of the 9th; on the 9th, we marched to the town of Clinton, and encamped until the morning of the 10th; on the 10th, we arrived in the vicinity of Jackson, and on the 11th we were ordered into line on General Hovey's right.

"I camped on the night of the 11th on the west side of the railroad running south from Jackson, and on the morning of the 12th my brigade was ordered into line of battle on the east side of the railroad, my left resting on the road on General Hovey's right—my line of battle running obliquely south-east, or back from General Hovey's right.

"About 10 o'clock, General Lauman came up and ordered my line changed so as to form a square or right angle line with General Hovey's right, which order I obeyed, and, after some artillery firing, was ordered forward by General Lauman. My line consisted of the following regiments, to-wit: The Twenty-eighth Regiment Illinois Volunteers (which had been ordered to report to me for duty), on the right, commanded by Major Rhodes; the Forty-first Illinois Infantry Volunteers on the right center, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel

John N. Nale; the Third Iowa Infantry Volunteers on the left center, commanded by Colonel Aaron Brown; the Fifty-third Illinois Infantry Volunteers on the left, resting on the railroad, commanded by Colonel S. C. Earl.

"Colonel J. B. Moore, of the Thirty-third Wisconsin Infantry, was ordered to the right by General Lauman, to make a reconnoissance in the direction of Pearl River.

"I was ordered by General Lauman to move my line forward cautiously, which order I obeyed. After passing a small creek, lined with timber and dense underbrush, my command arrived in the open field, when I halted and had my line dressed up. I did not like the looks of the ground. There was a cornfield in front, beyond which there was a skirt of timber, and beyond that the timber had been felled. The fence had been laid down, and the corn cut down, except a strip immediately in front of my line. I ordered one of my aides to request the presence of General Lauman on the ground, as I did not like the appearance of the field, and I did not intend to advance farther without orders. During the time General Lauman was coming up, my skirmishers on the right fell back, and when the General came up he ordered the skirmishers to be pushed forward to the distance of 300 or 400 yards, and then gave the order to my brigade to 'forward,' which order was obeyed. As soon as the line had crossed the field and had got fairly into the timber, the enemy opened a murderous fire on my whole line, but the men and officers pressed forward until they got within 120 yards of the enemy's breastworks, when they took shelter behind fallen timber, but the fire was so murderous that what officers and men were left, fell back, the firing lasting about an hour.

"I should have stated that the Twenty-eighth Illinois Infantry belongs to the Third Brigade, Fourth Division, and I have not had any report from the commanding officer of that regiment.

"ISAAC PUGH.

"Col. Comdr."

Following is a list of casualties in this affair:

Regiment.	Killed.	Wounded.	Captured or Missing.	Aggregate
41st Illinois	2 O. 25 M.	10 O. 125 M.	2 O. 38 M.	202
53d Illinois	2 O. 15 M.	9 O. 50 M.	5 O. 45 M.	126
3d Iowa	1 O. 16 M.	6 O. 51 M.	2 O. 37 M.	113
28th Illinois	3 O. 3 M.	2 O. 41 M.	.. O. 19 M.	68

Report of Colonel George E. Bryant, Twelfth Wisconsin Infantry, commanding Fifth Brigade, Twelfth Division:

"HEADQUARTERS FIFTH BRIGADE, TWELFTH DIVISION THIRTEENTH ARMY CORPS.

Near Jackson, Miss., July 20, 1863

"Captain John E. Phillips,

"Assistant Adjutant General:

"Sir—I have the honor to submit the following report of the operations of the command after leaving Vicksburg:

"This command left Vicksburg as the Third Brigade, Fourth Division, Sixteenth A. C., attached to the 13th Army Corps, the Division being commanded by Brigadier General J. G. Lauman, at 7 a. m., July 5th, 1863.

"The command of the Brigade was passed over to me on the morning of the march on account of sickness of Colonel Amory K. Johnson, 28th Illinois, former commander.

"Lieutenant Thomas A. Ralston, acting assistant adjutant general, was taken sick at camp near Black River, and returned to Vicksburg, and I detailed Lieutenant James K. Proudft, adjutant to the 12th Wisconsin Infantry, in his place, who has acted in that capacity since. * * * * *

"In the morning of the 11th instant, the Fifty-third Indiana Infantry, Colonel W. Q. Gresham commanding, under orders from General Lauman, reconnoitered and opened a road from Clinton road to Raymond and Gallatin roads, and returned to the brigade near the Clinton road, about 10 a. m., having successfully carried out its instructions. Soon after (about 11 a. m.) the Twenty-eighth Illinois Infantry, Major Rhodes commanding, under orders from General Lauman, marched upon the road opened by Colonel Gresham's command, and took position on the left of the Southern Railroad, a short distance to the front and right of the junction of the Raymond and Gallatin roads. The balance of the brigade marched about 2 p. m. by order of General Lauman, upon the same route, the 12th Wisconsin Infantry, Captain Giles Stevens commanding, guarding division train. The brigade halted that night near the present division hospital. The train did not come up, and the 12th Wisconsin remained with it. The thirty-second Illinois Infantry, Colonel John Logan commanding, was placed upon picket, by order of General Lauman, from the Raymond to the Gallatin roads in rear of the position. The 53d Indiana Infantry and Fifteenth Ohio Battery remained where the command halted.

In the morning of the 12th instant, General Lauman, with the First

Brigade, made an advance upon the enemy's works, taking with him the Twenty-eighth Illinois Infantry, which was in position as indicated above. After the advance was commenced, an officer of General Lauman's staff sent forward the Fifty-third Indiana Infantry and Fifteenth Ohio Battery, as I suppose, to support the movement, though I am informed that their only orders were to follow the First Brigade.

"The troops advancing on the enemy's works on the right of the railroad soon came under a terrible fire of shell, grape, canister, and musketry. The advance was over nearly level ground, covered with logs, slashed brush, stumps, etc., and perfectly open to the enemy's fire for about 600 yards. Brave as men can be, the troops rushed on till some arrived within 75 yards of the rebel works, or less, but they were finally forced to relinquish the hopeless effort and slowly fell back to a ridge on the right of the railroad nearly opposite the position occupied by the Twenty-eighth Illinois Infantry the night before. At this point, I brought up the 32d Illinois Infantry, having relieved it on picket by five companies of the 12th Wisconsin Infantry, and took command of the brigade, all of which was present, except the 12th Wisconsin Infantry.

"During the day General Lauman, by order of Major General Ord, commanding the 13th Army Corps, turned over the command of the division to Brigadier General A. P. Hovey, who issued orders upon assuming command, merging the division in the 12th Division of the 13th Army Corps and naming this command as the Fifth Brigade.

"In the afternoon of the same day, the command took position, by order of General Hovey, in the forks of the Raymond and Gallatin roads, and, on the 16th, took position, by order of General Hovey, in the rear of the Fourth Brigade.

"Since the affair of the 12th instant, a part of the command has been daily engaged in destroying railroad track south, and the remainder performing ordinary duties of troops in camp. The command is in excellent condition, as brave and every way efficient as any troops in any army.

"The Twenty-eighth Illinois Infantry, under the gallant Major Hinman Rhodes, true to its ancient record, behaved splendidly on the 12th instant, leaving some of their dead almost in the rebel ditch. This praise applies to officers and men alike, without exception, as I believe. It lost 5 officers and 63 men out of less than 200 engaged. This bloody fact tells its own story of their conduct.

"The Fifty-third Indiana Infantry gallantly drove off from the field and saved two guns of the Fifteenth Ohio Battery, whose men and horses were nearly all disabled. Fortunately, the Fifty-third Indiana, though much exposed, lost no men. No other troops of the command have been under fire since leaving Vicksburg.

The command consists of the Twelfth Wisconsin Infantry, Captain Giles Stevens commanding; Twenty-eighth Illinois Infantry, Major Hinman Rhodes commanding; Thirty-second Illinois Infantry, Colonel John Logan commanding; Fifty-third Indiana Infantry, Colonel Walter Q. Gresham commanding, and the Fifteenth Ohio Battery, Captain Edward Spear, Jr., commanding.

"I am, captain, very truly your obedient servant,

"GEORGE E. BRYANT,

"Colonel Twelfth Wisconsin Infantry, Commanding Brigade."



APPENDED

SHILOH.

I had only intended to include in my pamphlet the foregoing, and shall not to a great extent, and only for the fact that just as I am going to press with it, I have received a letter from one of my old regiment, the 28th Illinois, Captain Henry L. Hadsell, just returning from a trip to the battlefield of Shiloh where were gathered several hundred survivors of the Blue and the Gray who fraternized, and valiently fought over again those two terrible days of forty-five years ago. It is a sad thought; they were on the grounds made sacred by the blood of so many of their comrades who fell. I have also met on the street returning from the same excursion, S. H. Southard, who fought in that battle with Company E, 78th O. V. I., and who is a prosperous citizen of Greeley, Colorado. Comrade Southard was enthusiastic about what he had witnessed. He had with him as souvenirs of the battlefield, violets from the grounds where he fought, a sassafras cane cut from the very spot where he slept and many other relics brought from the now U. S. Military Park at Pittsburg Landing, including an Enfield bayonet, which shows that on account of the isolated position where Grant's army was said to have been "hid away," these precious relics are still to be found.

Comrade Hadsell's letter follows:

Barry, Illinois, April 12th, 1907.

Ed L. Hobart, Denver, Colorado:

Dear Ed—You don't know how disappointed I was when I received your letter before starting to Pittsburg Landing, saying you would not be with us. The trip was a grand success from start to finish, and Captain Holman [W. T. Holman, 21st Mo., Rutledge, Mo.], deserves great credit for his services in making it what it was. Everybody was pleased and satisfied.

We arrived on time Saturday morning, April 6th.

My first move was to break for our old camp, which was no trouble to find, accompanied as I was by S. M. Howard, George Reece and Debold Furrer; these were all of the 28th that were present.

We found our lines all correct (except our camp, which they have on the right side of the road instead of the left; it is only a few rods different, however, so that I have no kick).

The battle lines of every regiment are marked with cast iron tablets, with inscription of the regiment, etc.; we all decided they had done decidedly well; our own battle lines were correct to a dot.

They have a nice stone tablet located on our first line Sunday morning, near the peach orchard, with a record of the regiment inscribed upon it. That, I was proud of! Oh, Ed, I thought of you when there reading the inscription, knowing how you would appreciate it. There is also a tablet in front of the siege guns showing where the 28th stood in line of battle Sunday night, and also where we made the charge on Monday morning. I went down to the spring below our old camp, and also visited the Indian Mound where we laid our dead; all of these grounds looked natural except for the growth of young timber that has come up since, the old timber having been cut out.

The old field between our camp and General Hurlbut's headquarters looks natural. Oil of the old fields on the battlefield are kept in grass, and the young timber has been kept trimmed up and the leaves burnt, so that it is truly a handsome park of 336 acres.

The cemetery is located on top of the hill above the landing, just to the right of the road, and overlooks the Tennessee River; the yard of about 4

acres is inclosed with a fence and is laid off in blocks; each regiment has a marker.

I visited our old camp twice, second time hired a carriage and took my wife and we drove all over the battlefield, and attended Shiloh Church. The old church burned down, but they have a new one on the foundation of the old. All of the old roads have been preserved by grading and graveling them; I was told by the superintendent that there are 25 miles of roads on the field, graded and gravelled.

Well, Ed. I could write a week about what I saw, but will close, having given you only the outline. Every state that had troops there have put up handsome monuments. Illinois' is nice, but Iowa beats them all, and now I will turn you over to S. M. French for further particulars and information.

Hoping to hear from you soon, yours, etc.,

H. L. HADSELL.

The inscription referred to reads as follows:

"28th Illinois Infantry, Commanded by Colonel A. K. Johnson, Held This Line and One About 200 Yards South Against Heavy and Constant Fire From 9:30 A. M. to 2:00 P. M., April 6, 1862. Then Retreated to the Woods on the North Side of This Field. The Regiment Lost in This Battle 2 Officers and 27 Men Killed; 8 Officers and 203 Men Wounded; 1 Officer and 4 Men Missing. Total, 245."

"And there was tumult in the air,
The fife's shrill note, the drum's loud beat,
And, through the wide land, everywhere,
The answering tread of hurrying feet."—Read.

The very best account of the battle of Shiloh is contained in "Illinois at Shiloh," by Stanley Waterloo. In a book of 187 pages compiled by Major George Mason, Secretary Illinois Shiloh Battlefield Commission, which all survivors of Shiloh, especially those serving in Illinois organizations, should have, contains Stanley Waterloo's account together with fine half-tone cuts of monuments, etc., etc.

I will here print the opening paragraph of this graphic account:

"The battle of Shiloh, fought April 6 and 7, 1862, was one of the great battles of history, one the importance and quality of which will be more and more recognized as time passes. It was a battle in which were included half a dozen smaller battles. It was a battle where conditions were such that there was almost the closeness of conflicts in mediaeval times, and where regiments and brigades of raw recruits showed in desperate struggle with each other what American courage is.

"It was a battle fought on a rough wooded plateau, down and up deep gulches and amid thick underbrush and heavy timber, where artillery duels were fought at simple musket range. It was a battle saved at the eleventh hour, and, finally, one so potent in its results that it may possibly have changed entirely the issue of a mighty war. Such was the battle of Shiloh."

Further, with reference to Comrade Hadsell's observations on the trip, in a postscript, he says:

"I forgot to mention our old camp at Thiebes, Illinois. This is now a railroad town; a very fine bridge spans the river here, and Bird's Point, Mo., is all in the river. Fort Holt has grown up to willows and there was no signs of our cabins where we wintered [61—62]; Cairo Point has extended some ways down the river and is covered with willows; cannot see Cairo until you get around on the Ohio River. Cairo has built up wonderfully along the Ohio River, and another fine bridge spans this river, and a town has grown up on the Kentucky side, opposite Cairo.

At Fort Heiman and Fort Henry, there is nothing to indicate war. All grown up to willows; but Paducah is a fine city."

The thought comes to one who saw these places in war-times—Thiebes without a railway on account of its southern borders, now a thriving town with a great railway crossing the Mississippi River and penetrating THE NEW SOUTH.

Bird's Point, Missouri, while then an attempt had been made to improve it in the ordinary slow way, was, as we recollect, principally noted for its fine pawpas, full grown mosquitoes and its mud, now the bed of the Mississippi River (a good riddance).

Fort Holt, Kentucky, opposite Bird's Point, then a dense wilderness of wasting domain, now the center of the greatest Hardwood Market in the world, with its railways, crossing the Ohio River and another fine bridge, and where we used to gather pecans, we find a city lining the Ohio River banks opposite Cairo.

The desolation of surging waters would have gone on just the same, war or no war, and such wanton waste would have held sway for all these years, but as a result of the war, what improvements we see! And these things are worth all the war cost the South. For themselves, they wrought better than they knew; they tore down the pedestal on which was enthroned an institution at once selfish, cruel, damnable! Allowing deserts and waste places to remain deserts, and, at the expense of their slave's sweat of the brow, devote themselves to pleasures and profligacy. It is said they are now patriotic and industrious. We hope they are. If they are, what have they to thank? *They wrought better than they knew.*

Admitting it all to be true, it does not bring back our Comrades who made these things possible by their sacrifices—by giving up their lives, and sleep in the beautiful Park we have described, and whom:

THE BIVOUAC OF THE DEAD.

The muffled drum's sad roll has beat,
The soldier's last tattoo;
No more on life's parade they'll meet,
Or their brave deeds renew.
On fame's eternal camping ground
Their silent tents are spread,
And Glory guards with solemn round
The bivouac of the dead.

HISTORY OF THE 13TH ILLINOIS.

As bearing on Vicksburg and Jackson, and many matters I have mentioned in the foregoing, and in "A History of a Boy Veteran of the Twenty-eighth Illinois," Etc., I have determined to print herewith the history of a regiment in which served one of God's few faithful followers; an exemplary man, a Christian then, faithful alike to his country as his God, and one whom I am proud to call brother. (His wife and my wife are sisters.)

Arthur Patterson, now residing in San Francisco, California, since about 1890, was consequently there at the time of the great earthquake and fire one year ago.

"The Thirteenth Regiment, Illinois Infantry, was one of the regiments organized under the Act known as the 'Ten Regiment Bill.' It was composed of companies as follows: I from Cook County; H from Kane County; K from Du Page County; E and F from De Kalb County; A and C from Lee County; B and G from Whiteside County, and D from Rock Island County.

"John B. Wyman of Amboy was elected Colonel; B. E. Parks of Aurora Lieutenant Colonel, and A. B. Georges of Dixon, Major.

"The regiment was mustered into State service on the 21st day of April and into the United States service on the 24th day of May, 1861, for three years, or during the war, by Captain John Pope, of the Regular Army, at Camp Dement, Dixon, Illinois.

"Its Colonel, John B. Wyman, organized and commanded the 'Chicago Light Guards,' the first crack corps the Garden City ever had, and he soon brought the Thirteenth to a degree of proficiency in drill and soldierly deportment that was never excelled by any regiment with which it afterwards associated.

"The Thirteenth was the first regiment organized from the then Second Congressional District of the State, and was composed of as good citizens as Northern Illinois contained, many that enlisted as privates rising to field officers in later regiments.

"On the 16th of June it was ordered to Caseyville, Ill., 10 miles east of St. Louis, and on the 5th day of July it passed through St. Louis to Rolla, Mo., where it remained until the spring of 1862.

"While stationed at Rolla it was engaged in guarding supply trains to and from General Lyon's army, suppressing guerrilla bandits in that part of the State, and was a part of General Fremont's force that went to Springfield, Missouri, in the fall of 1861, after General Price, when the regiment was well and favorably known as 'Fremont Grey Hounds,' a name given to them by General Fremont himself, on the evening the regiment joined his army at Bolivar, a splendid regiment in splendid shape, after a day's march of forty-two miles.

"In 1862 it joined General Curtis' army at Pea Ridge, 250 miles southwest of Rolla, and was with General Curtis in his memorable march from Pea Ridge to Helena, Arkansas, on the Mississippi River.

"It was a part of General Sherman's army in his attack upon Chickasaw Bayou, and from that time on became a part of the noted Fifteenth Army Corps, commanded so long by General Sherman in person. In the first day's assault at Chickasaw Bayou, Colonel Wyman was killed. The following day, it was a part of General E. P. Blair's Brigade that distinguished itself by approaching nearer to the rebel works than any other command in that part of the field. The losses to the regiment on that day were 183 killed and wounded. It was present at the capture of Arkansas Post, after which it returned to Young's Point, opposite Vicksburg. While there, General Steel's Division, of which the Thirteenth was a part, made a successful raid to Greenville, Miss., and up Deer Creek, driving the rebels out of that region, and destroying an immense quantity of corn intended for the rebel garrison at Vicksburg.

"It was part of General Grant's army that crossed the Mississippi at Grand Gulf below Vicksburg, and participated in a part of the battles in rear

of Vicksburg and in the capture of Jackson, and was with General Sherman's Corps on the right of the army during the siege of Vicksburg.

"It was with General Steel's Division in the fruitless assault on the 2d day of May [I think this should read the 22d day of May—E. L. H.], where it suffered severely. Vicksburg surrendered on the 4th day of July, 1863, and on the same night at 12 o'clock the regiment started with General Sherman after Joe Johnston.

"It was present the second time at the capture of Jackson, Miss., and moved still further east to Brandon, where the pursuit of Joe Johnston ended, and with the remainder of the command returned to Black River and went into camp.

"When General Sherman was ordered to join General Grant at Chattanooga with his corps, of which this regiment was still a part, it went from Vicksburg to Memphis by boat, and from there to Chattanooga was a continuous fight, as the rebels tried every way in their power to prevent Sherman from joining Grant's army.

"It was with General Osterhaus' Division, temporarily attached to General Hooker's command, at the battle of Missionary Ridge, where the regiment captured 2,500 prisoners, and followed the retreating forces to Rossville, where the enemy was overtaken and a severe skirmish ensued; from there the enemy was driven to Ringgold Gap, where they massed their batteries to protect their retreat.

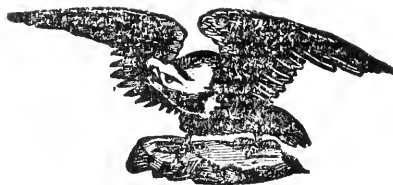
"Osterhaus' Division formed in line of battle, the 13th being directly in front of the Gap and massed batteries. It being impossible to take the Gap by a charge, the Division was withdrawn and again advanced up the side of the mountain to the left of the Gap, where it encountered the forces of General Pat Clayborn, strongly entrenched at the top of the mountain. Here the Thirteenth Illinois and the Division held their grounds till their ammunition gave out, and they were finally relieved at the third attempt by the 14th Army Corps. They held this trying position for about two hours, the greater portion of the time being without ammunition, depending wholly for their safety upon 'fixed bayonets' and their determination never to retreat.

"The losses in this battle were 67. Among the killed were Major Bushnell, Captain Blanchard, and Color Bearer Riley—this was a brave Irish-American of Downer's Grove—what more glorious record has any man than this: 'Color Sergeant, killed at Ringgold, November 27th, 1863.' He fell when shot through the breast in such a manner as to be rolled up in the flag, staining it with his heart's blood. For its conduct in the battle in and around Missionary Ridge, the regiment received the following complimentary notice in General Hooker's report, Vol. 8, Page 215, Rebellion Records:

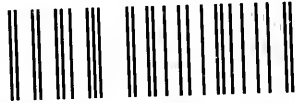
"At the same time the enemy kept his artillery busily at work. Their skirmishers were driven in, and, as we learned the position of the battery, the Thirteenth Illinois Regiment, from the right of Wood's line, was thrown forward to seize some houses from which their gunners could be picked off by our men. These were heroically taken and held by that brave regiment. Apprehensive that he might lose his artillery, the enemy advanced with superior force on our skirmishers, and they fell back behind Wood's line, when that excellent officer opened on the rebels and drove them into the gorge, they leaving, as they fled, their dead and wounded on the ground. Our skirmishers at once reoccupied their line, the Thirteenth Illinois all the time maintaining its position with resolution and obstinacy.

"The time of this regiment being so near out they were not taken on the march to the sea, but left to guard the communications in the rear. On the 18th of June, 1864, the regiment was mustered out at Springfield, Ill., having served three years and two months."

AND ILLINOIS SAID, "WELL DONE, GOOD AND FAITHFUL SERVANTS."



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